



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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IN REPLY REFER TO
Op-611D/1sb
Ser 484P61

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

Subj: Berlin

Encl: (1) Chronological Summary

1. In response to your memorandum of 25 July 1961 requesting a resume on developments in Berlin since World War II a chronological summary setting forth the significant events and agreements is appended as enclosure (1).
2. The trend of Soviet positions can be summarized as follows:
 - a. Initially the Soviets were motivated by revenge and a desire for loot in as much of Germany as they could control, and by "reparations" from that part of Germany under the control of the Western Allies. The early behavior of the Soviet armies was barbarous and Russian desire for immediate material gain was favored to the exclusion of the long-range objective of winning the Germans to the support or acceptance of Communism. The initial looting or hauling away of capital equipment later changed to a more profitable procedure of merely grasping the fruits of German production. This in turn developed into indirect U.S. financing of the reparations the Soviets were extracting from Germany. As we became increasingly reluctant to accept this, relations worsened culminating in the situation today.
 - b. Soviet hopes at the end of World War II visualized a Communist Germany and eventually a Communist Europe. Their political policies were aggressive. Repeated rebuffs, especially the orientation of the German socialists toward Britain rather than toward the USSR gradually educated the Soviets to the realization that their time in Europe had not yet come. The success of the Marshall Plan convinced them of this and placed them on the defensive. The East German riots of 1953 were a final proof and confirmed the Russians in their determination to insure the dichotomy of Germany. The elimination of West Berlin and world acknowledgment of the East German government are the remaining steps to achieve that goal.
3. Western "presence" in Berlin has been anathema to Soviets since the first U.S. contingent arrived there. The Soviets realize that Berlin is not only a constant irritant in their efforts to "finalize" the incorporation of the East European satellites irrevocably within their empire, but that in times of stress when

their hold on those nations becomes tenuous Berlin could be the "hole in the dike". They want to eliminate this enclave and "regularize" the partition of Germany.

4. Soviet successes, scientific and political, have generated a wave of self-confidence and arrogance. Khrushchev probably feels that the time for action is now ripe. Success on the Berlin issue would add to this momentum and destroy the image of U.S. fortitude and capability at a time when the world is in a state of flux and the emerging nations are most susceptible to influence by the image of success.

5. Khrushchev wants diplomatic or at least de facto recognition of the German Democratic Republic. This would legalize past Soviet looting action in East Germany. It would also enhance Ulbricht's position even though 85% of the population are opposed to him. Moreover, such recognition would signal the moral breakdown of the West -- weakening NATO perhaps to the point of disintegration. Ulbricht wants formal recognition and the means to stop the flow of refugees. At this time he does not want to add the two million dissident West Berliners to an already hostile populace. The Soviets and the East German government will endeavor to avoid giving the West a plausible excuse to go to war. They will prefer gradual measures, probably in economic form, as their means of severing West Berlin from West Germany. As a collateral benefit they hope to show the ineffectuality of NATO and the United States.

James S. Russell

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27 July 1961

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

BERLIN

Subject: Significant agreements and political and military events

12 September 1944: Protocol on zones of occupation and administration of the "greater Berlin" area.
Comment: Signed by UK, US and USSR. It established occupation zones and specified "greater Berlin" as area separate from zones.

8 May 1945: German surrender act. Comment: Germany accepted unconditional surrender. During May and June the Soviet army was sole occupier of Berlin and U.S. armies occupied large areas of eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia. A question arose concerning setting up the occupation zones. Churchill objected to withdrawal from this enormous area "400 miles long and 120 miles at its greatest depth" prior to political agreement with Soviets. Truman felt delay would prejudice Soviet-U.S. relations and exchange of letters with Stalin (June 1945) implied amicable relations between nations. The Truman letter to Stalin of June 14, 1945, stated:

"....as to Germany, I am ready to have instructions issued to all American troops to begin withdrawal into their zone on June 21....including in these arrangements the simultaneous movement of the national garrisons into greater Berlin and provision of free access by air, road and rail from Frankfurt and Bremen to Berlin for U.S. forces."

Premier Stalin replied on June 16, 1945 accepting this plan and gave assurances that all necessary measures would be taken in accordance with the plan.

Four zone Commanders met in Berlin 29 June 1945 to implement above decision. At the meeting it was agreed that Western powers would withdraw their forces from the Soviet Zone and would have the use of the Helmstedt-Berlin Autobahn and railroutes without restriction and subject only to the normal traffic regulations of the Soviet zone. Marshal Zhukov stated "It will be necessary for vehicles to be governed by Russian road signs,

military police, document checking, but no inspection of cargo -- the Soviets are not interested in what is being hauled, how much or how many trucks are moving."

Similar meetings in following three years set up air and water routes which were used without restriction until 1 March 1948.

The access routes have never been guaranteed in a formal treaty signed by the Four Powers. There were many heads-of-state agreements as well as pronouncements of the Four Power Control Council along with some fifteen years of use of these routes which implicitly recognized "right of access" to Berlin. These rights stem from "right of conquest" and were affirmed by these unofficial written documents and implicit practices.

9 June 1945: Soviet Military Administration for the Soviet zone was created. Comment: Soviet policies in Germany began to be implemented before the victorious powers reached agreement on policies which would pertain to the whole of Germany. On 13 September 1945, the Soviets announced the establishment of a German Administration in the Soviet zone.

26 July 1945: Amending agreement on forces of occupation and administration of "greater Berlin" area was published. Comment: France was granted parts of UK and US occupation zone and Berlin sectors. Soviet zone and Berlin sector remain unchanged.

1 August 1945: Potsdam Conference. Comment: The agreement provided for demilitarization, denazification and democratization of Germany. Germany was to be divided into four zones but was to be handled administratively and economically as a single unit. "For the time being" no central German government was to be established. Self-government was to be encouraged on the local and regional level but supreme authority was to be exercised by the Military Commanders-in-Chief in their respective zones. Matters affecting Germany as a whole were to be implemented jointly through the Allied Control Council. Germany was to be regarded as a single economic unit and uniform policies were to be employed throughout Germany with regard to wages, banking, currency, etc.

- October 1946: Berlin City Council freely elected and functioned as a government under the supervision of a Four-Power Komendatura. Comment: Germany itself was never administered as a single unit. U.S. feared a reunified Germany as much as did the USSR. Neither side was anxious to cooperate to bring this about.
- 1 January 1947: U.S. and British zones combined. Comment: On 29 May 1947 the U.S. and British set up the German Economic Council. Its 54 members were elected by local legislatures from American and British zones. It was an "embryonic Parliament" which made suggestions to occupation authorities. The French opposed a unified Germany unless guarantees against future aggression could be obtained.
- 5 June 1947: Marshall Plan for economic recovery of Europe was announced.
- 1 March 1948: Harassment measures started which culminated in Berlin Blockade. Comment: US, UK and France notified the USSR of decrees on currency reform on 18 June. The same day passenger trains were stopped between Berlin and West Germany. On 23 June, all rail traffic was stopped. On 26 June, full Allied airlift to Berlin began.
- 6 March 1948: London communique on Germany. Comment: U.S., Britain, France and Benelux nations agreed to (1) set up the Federal Republic of Germany, and (2) implement currency reforms.
- 20 March 1948: Soviets withdrew from Allied Control Council and agreed to return only if West gave up London communique proposals. Riots forced the freely elected Berlin City Council to leave its headquarters and to flee to West Berlin. On 20 November East Berlin Magistrat set up in Soviet sector as the East Berlin government.
- 4 May 1949: Communique on agreement lifting the Berlin blockade issued from New York. Comment: Agreement merely lifted restrictions imposed on 1 March 1948. Implicitly recognized "free access" to Berlin but did NOT state this principle. During negotiations Soviets insisted for the first time that Berlin was "a part of" the Soviet zone of Germany in violation of formal agreements. West refused to concede this point and settlement made no reference to it.

- 23 May 1949: Proposal for West German Federal Republic announced. Comment: Free elections were held on 14 August, and Republic formally proclaimed on 21 September. On 7 October "German Democratic Republic" proclaimed in East Germany -- without elections. On 23 May 1950 U.S. sent protest note to Moscow on the re-militarization of East Germany.
- 27 January 1951: Poland and East Germany sign pact confirming Oder Neisse line as their final Boundary. Comment: Potsdam Conference (1945) specified that final boundary was contingent on the German Peace Treaty, but agreement did "take cognizance of" Polish administration of these territories.
- 26 May 1952: Bonn Agreement signed by U.S., British, French and Germans. Comment: This agreement gave West Germany virtual sovereignty. Repeated efforts were made to have Soviets participate in all-German free elections on 10 October 1950 and 30 April 1952. A United Nations Commission was appointed to investigate possibility of free elections throughout Germany. Commission reported that conditions were satisfactory in West Germany but Soviet Zone authorities refused to cooperate. Western powers undertook unilateral action with implicit United Nations support.
- 5 March 1953: Stalin died.
- 17 June 1953: East German uprising. Comment: German workers revolted and were suppressed by the Soviet Army. USSR agreed to cease reparations collections from East Germany as of 1 January 1954.
- 1 April 1955: East Germany levied exorbitant road tolls on West German vehicles using East German highways. Comment: This control measure along with the transit tax imposed on barge traffic on the Elbe River (May 1958), which West Germany agreed to pay, constitutes a form of de facto recognition of the G.D.R.
- 6 May 1955: Western European Union established. Comment: West Germany attained full sovereignty and became a member of the WEU. West Germany joined NATO the next day.
- 14 May 1955: Warsaw Pact signed. Comment: East Germany temporarily excluded from participation in military arrangements. Molotov implied that price of German

reunification was German neutralization. East German army incorporated in Warsaw Pact in January 1956.

20 September 1955: A treaty was signed between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic granting "sovereignty" to the GDR. Comment: The treaty specified that Soviet troops which were stationed on the territory of the GDR in accordance with "existing international agreements" would remain with the approval of the GDR, to be settled by an additional agreement between the GDR and the Soviet Union. This agreement was supplemented by an exchange of notes between Foreign Ministers Mssrs. Zorin (USSR) and Bolz (GDR). The note specified that the GDR would:

(a) Exercise control of and guard the frontiers of the GDR, and

(b) handle all matters connected with rail and road traffic and passage of shipping between West Germany and Berlin, EXCEPT that control of traffic of troops and material of the garrisons of U.S., France, and the UK. stationed in Berlin would be temporarily exercised by the Soviet troops in Germany "pending the conclusion of an appropriate agreement".

20 November 1958: Inter-zonal Trade Agreement signed by representatives of East and West German governments. Comments: This agreement can be considered a degree of de facto recognition. The West Germans insist that it is a "committee arrangement" and does not constitute recognition. West Germans feel that arrangement will enable them to apply economic pressure in future situations due to the fact that trade is of great importance to the GDR economy. In a showdown, the USSR would probably meet GDR needs..

10 November 1958: Khrushchev unilaterally abrogated the Potsdam Conference stating that (a) the agreement is outdated due to constant violation by Western powers, (b) the USSR will transfer its functions to East Germany and the West would have to negotiate with East Germany for "right of access" to Berlin, and (c) proposed German reunification through agreement and contacts between the two German States. Comment: A series of threats and counter-threats ensued and finally agreement was reached to hold a Foreign Ministers' Conference in May 1959 to discuss the problem of Germany in all its aspects. The conference was held but no agreement was reached. The West insisted on reunification of Germany on the basis of self-determination while USSR insisted on curtailing Western rights in Berlin and a forced

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confederation between the two German states.

September 1959 to the present time:

Current status of Berlin crisis:

Khrushchev and Eisenhower met in September 1959 (Camp David) where Berlin was discussed but solution was deferred to the 1 May 1960 summit meeting. Khrushchev used the U-2 incident as a pretext to cancel this meeting.

After threatening to sign a separate treaty with East Germany, Khrushchev deferred this action until after the U.S. elections.

Early in 1961, he has again threatened to sign a separate treaty, by 31 December, if the Berlin problem is not solved.